In some households religious pictures are in evidence, while in others there are none at all. In some families there are formal religious observances for the group. In others there may be none, or family members may be individually given to silent prayer. However varied the pattern may be, qualitatively it is one which allows for the action of individual choice and conscience.

There is definite evidence that village opinion concerning the efficacy of recourse to the saint's shrines is sharply divided, and there is good reason to conclude that this ambivalence is of recent development, a part of the acculturation process. Saint's shrines are very common in the Middle East. They are used by Muslims and Christians alike, and in many cases they probably stem from pagan prototypes. Among the Lebanese Christians, shrines are visited by the faithful primarily in the fulfillment of vows usually made in connection with the curing of disease, the betrothment of conceptions, the determination of the sex of an unborn child, and so on—in other words, the emphasis is on medical problems. The visitor may perform the ritual for his own sake or on behalf of someone else.

In Beirut, the shrine ritual consists of prayers—sometimes written on the walls—and the offering of candles or olive oil which are burned in the shrine. One informant also suggested a ceremonial element—walking to the shrine barefoot or crawling to it on hands and knees. The shrines are located at some distance from each other and from the home district, and a person is not likely to go over these except with deliberate intent and effort. Presumably the effort is not made except by those who believe in what they are doing.

There definitely are such individuals in the village. On one occasion the writer saw two persons make offerings of candles at one of the shrines ("because someone is sick," an informant explained); fresh paper candle wrappings were observed in the vicinity of all the shrines, and there were bottles for olive oil in all of them.

In contrast, there were the statements of several informants, some of whom was in the habit of using the shrines. One said (before the subject had really been investigated) that the shrines were no longer used at all. Another, more specifically, denied any personal belief in the holy which the saints were supposed to give the sick and went on to express the opinion that no one else in the village believed in it either. When this informant was faced with undeniable evidence to the contrary, the general claim was modified, but the basic attitude had been revealed. A third informant stated flatly that some believed and some did not, and that among the former there were those who even had dreams about being visited by saints thanking us on the fulfillment of vows. But this informant added the opinion that though some people were believers, they might very likely deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Ignorance of what? It might well have been asked. Presumably, ignorance of, and lack of faith in, modern medical practices which, as he saw, do not eliminate all

dangers to health but do definitely take a lot of chance and accident out of the incidence of the prevention and cure of disease.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the wide variation in beliefs concerning the dairies represents a decline in the use of them which has been brought about by the widespread acceptance of modern medicine. Certainly there is evidence of decline in the statement that only recently were annual processions to each of the dairies, in the saints' days, discontinued. In this general connection, it should be mentioned that no one was observed wearing or using amulets or religious medals (continue Chilmeli, 1910, pp. 140-44).

ORDINARY NAME

The Mass is said once a week, on Sunday mornings. The church is also open every Saturday evening for prayers. Otherwise, the building is ordinarily closed and locked. Speaking generally, Bible (1911, p. 34) says that in Syrian Greek Orthodox Churches daily mass is very rare. He also says that although ancient Greek is the official language of the church, the native language of each particular region is the one actually used in the service (ibid., p. 121). Zeidner (1928, p. 149) states this to be true of the Orthodox Church as a whole. In Mosqil, according to expectation, the liturgy is in Arabic, with the exception of a few special phrases. According to Bible, the liturgy is:

> . . . teeming with passages of profound spirituality clothed in language subtle and poetic. Large parts of the services are rendered in weird Oriental chants. The service books of the Greek Church are in fourteen quarto volumes. They would appear to cover every possible occasion. There are, for example, prayers to be said by the priest when a corner stone is laid, when a threshing-floor is constructed, when a well is dug, when a well is polluted, when insects must be enjoined from the vines, when devils must be exorcised, when silk worms are being cultivated, when a sick man cannot sleep, when one has been harmed by the evil eye. (Ibid., p. 124.)

None of these was observed in the village.

Zeidner says that the Orthodox Church is more like Protestantism than Roman Catholicism in the following points: (1) extensive use of the Scriptures; (2) Christocentrism; (3) the inner and personal effect of the Sacraments (ibid., pp. 159-70). He could well have added to this list the participation of laymen in the service. There is no congregational singing, but solo chants by laymen are a conspicuous element.

The priest performs all rituals only as an instrument of God, and, significantly, never uses the first person singular. For example, he says "so-and-so is baptized" not "I baptize so-and-so." (Zeidner, 1928, pp. 87-88.)

Zeidner says that there is in general a feeling in the Church that other Christian sects have not fallen from Grace. "This broad-minded attitude and practice," he concludes, "explains [its] mild attitude toward other churches and their mem-

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15 specialties as follows: mayor, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; barber, 2; storekeeper, 8; fisherman, 3; surveyor, 1; mason, 2; carpenter, 2; teacher 4. There are 6 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the taxi driver, the other by one of the teachers.

The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk, librarian, and government official), semiskilled and skilled jobs, and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; foreman, 1; soldier, 1; tailor, 2; seamstress, 5; waiter, 3; hospital attendant, 4; janitor, 2; surveyor, 1; merchant, 5; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 24. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and most urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

Religion. Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technology — in the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over rituals.

In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in al-Mansif. Associated with each structure is a section of waqf land of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

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be of any help. Then there was the flat statement that the shrines were no longer used at all. The most interesting comment was that many people still believed in the efficacy of the shrines but that they would probably deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Actually, there was clear evidence that candles and olive oil are regularly burned as offerings at the shrines, but by how large a proportion of the people was not ascertained. In any case there is no doubt that there are now fundamental differences among the villagers on a matter which would not have been the subject of any disagreement 75 years ago.

In other aspects of life, religion plays a vigorous role. There are three types of occasion — weddings, and especially funerals and Easter — when all the villagers who are living away are strongly obligated to return to the village for the ceremonies. There is absolutely no question about this matter, in theory or in practice. The ritual occasions all have, of course, the same latent function, which is the intensification of group loyalty and solidarity sentiments. It can be argued that the prime motives behind these events which account for their vigor are not, strictly speaking, religious. Be that as it may, religious behavior is an integral part of the observances.

Kinship Organization. It appears that the kinship organization of al-Munsif has been the least affected by change of all the major aspects of the culture. It is often very difficult for modern Americans, in whose own culture kinship groups are of minimum importance, to comprehend the fact that in most other parts of the world kinship is one of the strongest elements in social organization. When we speak of the kinship organization of an Arab village, such as al-Munsif, we are not referring to a genealogical abstraction; we are referring, in fact, to the social organization itself. For the social organization — a pattern of interrelated statuses and roles — is defined in terms of kinship.

The unity of al-Munsif is enhanced by the fact that the villagers believe themselves all to be descended from a common ancestor who was the founder of the village. Whatever other differences there may develop among them, they continue to maintain this conception of themselves as a group. The founder had three sons among whom he divided equally the land of the community. For some time, the descendants of each of the three sons held land only in the areas originally apportioned. Each group, or lineage, also sponsored and developed one of the saint's shrines located in its territory. Eventually, the three original lineages were divided into what is now a total of 21 lineages. The name of each lineage is that of the man who is recognized as having been the common ancestor of all the members, but among the villagers themselves these lineage (or "family") names are rarely used. Their chief use is in filling out government and other official forms. A person is ordinarily designated by his own and his father's names only. Traditionally, the father's name is never given to any of his sons, and there is